MITHILA

IN

INDIA

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Preface

The problem of the reorganization of states on regional basis is looked upon from two view-points: scientific and popular. The scientific view is whether for their quickest possible progress, a people living in an area well defined by its geography, language, culture, economy and administrative convenience, deserve to have their own autonomous government. If they do, a man with scientific spirit and without any selfish motive, readily offers them that primary facility. The popular view, on the other hand, looks for a demand for it from the people concerned. A suppressed, backward people naturally take time to realise their position of neglect and exploitation. The Government in that case avoids fulfilling its obligations to them. But when, after a time, they are roused to the realization of their miserable plight, they march forward in a terrible, irresistible anger.

The present Government at Delhi with its branches in the different parts of India will do well to be forewarned against that coming anger. No amount of their crying for help against the approaching aggression from America through Pakistan will have any response from the people groaning under injustice and oppression. When

the danger comes, the Government should know that our people will behave as the British people did when they were called upon by their Tory Government in 1939 to fight Germans. They had their due share of food and amenities of life before they proceeded to the battlefield. India is sure to make a similar demand to the Congress Government as soon as in the midst of danger they call for help. The Congress itself denied help to the British during the last war on the ground that the rights of the Indians had not been recognised by them. The Congress has taught our people how to be callous with an oppressive Government. Let us see how far it remembers its own old way and the result it brought about.

Christmas
1953

Laksman Jha

CONTENTS

MITHILA IN INDIA

1
LINGUISM

A great decision has been taken to form states on a new basis, scientific and human, of geography, language, culture, economy and administrative convenience. No longer is there the attempt to deride the movement in different parts of India for the formation of such states and call it 'linguism', meaning madness about one's language.

The new states to be formed are popularly called 'linguistic' not because language would be the sole basis of their formation but because it is the factor most easily comprehended by the people in general.

A language is no more an independent phenomenon than a man is. It is a product of human

society which itself is influenced by its geography—soil, climate, vegetation, foodcrops, animals etc. A man's speech changes almost as frequently as his food-habit. Geology determines geography which in turn determines the race, the food-habits and the language of man. The sciences, Geology, Geography, Ethnology and Philology (Linguistics) show the sequence in which the objects they treat appear in Nature. It is wrong to suppose that the linguistic boundaries have been arbitrarily fixed by man or that they can be so changed by him. These boundaries change no doubt—as often as races of men move—but seldom has there been a conscious effort on the part of man to say that a language shall begin here or end there. He takes with him during his itinerary his language as naturally and unconsciously as he carries with him his speech-organ encased in his living frame.

Let there be therefore no mistake about or misrepresentation of the term 'linguistic' which is a slogan, not a mathematical symbol, and is

used for convenience rather than for accuracy. But it does express to-day an idea which is that of a people living in a geographical area more or less defined by natural barriers like hills and mountains, rivers or seas, desert or forest belts, speaking a language which is different from that of another people in another area. This language may have sprung from the same older language from which a neighbouring language has come out but still is so different from it because of long separation that it is not easily intelligible to the speakers of the neighbouring language. If you take up the different languages and mark the areas where they are spoken you will easily find that they almost invariably coincide with geographical and racial divisions of our land. There are instances of course where linguistic area is not exactly the same as the geographical one, for racial migration has in such cases overridden the geographical barrier and spread a language over areas separated from one another by natural dividing lines like a large

river or a mountain. Maithili language should have ordinarily confined itself to Mithila—from Himalaya in the north to the Ganga in the south and from the Mahananda in the east to the Gandak in the west—but, in fact, it yields ground to Bhojpuri in the west in the district of Champaran and crosses into the Jharakhanda beyond the Ganga in south-east in the district of Bhagalpur and Santal Paragannas. Bhojpuri has been more vigorous in this respect than any northern language except Hindi whose spread has been political rather than racial and therefore artificial rather than natural. Bhojpuri has not only crossed the Gandak in the east and established itself in west Mithila but has also overcome a stronger barrier in the south, the Ganga, and captured the districts of Shahabad and Mirzapur as well as parts of Palamu. The Bhojpuris are the descendants of the ancient Mallas (the sturdy ones) who were probably known as such because of their physical superiority over the peoples of the neighbouring states. Happily for

them as for our whole country they still retain much of their ancient health of body and mind.

Race is here not to be taken in the old conservative sense—a primitive, prehistoric people now difficult to identify. A race is no longer a static conception. All along its journey through time and space it goes on changing its connotation and denotation but it is never without them. The Bhojpuries of to-day are no longer the same as the Mallas of old. Their physical feature, food-habits, means of production, language, social and political institutions as well as the area of their habitation have undergone a lot of change during the three thousand years of their history. But through all the changes of blood and language and their whole material and moral life, that ancient sturdiness has persisted throughout and that gives the people their racial distinction. The evolutionary process of human progress admits of no static quality of race or language or even of geographical conditions. But the dynamic idea means no break

from the past. It only conceives of progress as through an unbroken series of modifications in physical and mental life due to the circumstances presented by a constantly changing Nature.

Never before in the long history of India, the land was divided in accordance with the convenience and welfare of the people. Population was divided into two unequal divisions of the conqueror the stronger minority, and the conquered the weaker majority. The desires of the two classes naturally always travelled in opposite directions—the weak and enslaved wanted to be strong and free while the strong ruler determinedly endeavoured to keep them weak and subjugated. For strength good and plentiful food is required. In a land with a growing population under constant threats of invasion, it cannot be procured unless the people are free to utilise their natural resources to the farthest point. In a feudal society, the ruler would sooner yield his position to a successful invader than allow his weak subjects to grow strong enough to keep

the invader out. For a strong people would tolerate neither an invader nor a tyrannical ruler. And a tyrant is either a tyrant or a slave. The medial stage of the life of a free citizen, member of a free society, working in willing co-operation for its common good, has no charm for him. His body and soul have lived on extremes of tyranny and slavery. If they cannot stay on the one, they can only jump to the other.

That obnoxious psychology is fortunately being given a go by—more quickly in some other countries than in our own. But here also the process has started and, if willingly pursued by our rulers, would soon put our people on the road to freedom and prosperity.

Long ago the Indian National Congress realised the tyranny of administrative divisions brought about or accepted by the British conquerors of India. Their aim was clear to them as well as to the intelligent ones amongst us. They wanted not to see us prosperous and happy but to make us work for their prosperity

and happiness. The land would be, therefore, best divided in a way that kept the people disorganised and poor, their natural resources left to the care of the ruler who would develop them as suited his own interest. Education was decided to be given through the medium of a foreign language; English, so that the vast majority could remain ignorant and obedient to the foreign exploiter. The Congress, among many other things, fought for the re-organisation of provinces on scientific basis including geography, language, culture, economy and administrative convenience. It was so impatient of the old arrangement based on conquest and exploitation that,for its own purpose, it did not recognise it and had its own map of the land drawn on the then available, very imperfect and partial knowledge of geography and languages of India. This movement of the Congress grew so strong that even the callous and strong British Government made concessions in 1911 when Bihar and Orissa and Assam were separated from

Bengal, and in 1936 when Orissa was separated from Bihar and Sind from Bombay.

When the Congress came to power at Delhi in 1945 we believed it would immediately do away with the old boundary lines and fix up new ones based on the latest scientific knowledge of our geography and languages. It did nothing however. Instead, the new rulers accepted the old arrangement as best in the circumstances and went on enjoying fruits of power without bothering to look into the old miseries of the people. Whenever the cry was loud, they ordered halt in the name of patriotism. The bogey of invasion was constantly raised and the movement for regional states along with many other movements for reforms was slowed down. The trick went on for some years when people started feeling deceived. They saw that new China was beset with dangers from within as well as from without; in fact it was engaged in a gigantic warfare in Korea with America the most powerful aggressive nation the world has ever seen;

and yet in the midst of their enveloping fire, the communist rulers went on doggedly redrawing the map of their country on a new scientific basis along with carrying on radical reforms in all directions of human living. Revolutionary Russia was now old; therefore her achievements in face of overwhelming dangers were difficult for our people to remember. But the new China was four years younger than our new India. The Congress here occupied the throne at Delhi in 1945 and the Communists in China liberated their land in 1949. In India the Congress had to contend with some rioters inland and a few raiders from across the border. The Communists of China have had to face Chiang's formidable army in the south and the fierce Americans in the north.

India was not convinced that her welfare was delayed by dangers external or internal. The feeling was rather that the presence of certain danger was necessary to bring the ease-loving rulers out of their fantastically luxurious ivory

tower. The people in certain parts of the country were growing restless. The Andhras waited for long and when in place of the formation of their own state they received repression they gave up their patience and openly said they would not be ruled by callous northerners from Delhi. Then at last the Grand Mogal at Red Fort realised that the necessary danger for a beneficent rule was coming. The formation of Andhra was announced. And for the formation of other regional states, an early appointment of a high power commission was promised. The country has been advised to keep quiet, for the regional states would be coming without any agitation for them.

Inspite of the Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru's repeated assurances for the establishment of these states, the movement is going on unabated in Mithila, Bhojpur, Jharkhand, Punjab, Gujarat, Maharastra, Karnataka and Kerala. The great Prime Minister's word is not generally believed, because he has so often ridiculed the

movement and called the participants unpatriotic, even antisocial. They feel that Nehru does not mean to establish regional states ; he only wants to kill the movement with soft words now that his harsh words have failed to do so ; he is now above sixty, and old ; he has no inclination to indulge in fresh undertakings of stupendous nature requiring much time and energy for their fulfilment; all that he wants now that he is in power is peace and undisturbed enjoyment of a comfortable life. A not very bad desire. But the country is extremely miserable and in no mood to allow him or his colleagues or his successors in the present state any rest. The democratic idea has not as yet thoroughly possessed our people. But certain negative aspects of it have moved them to a dangerous point. They do not like to see their ruler comfortable while they themselves are in misery. They don't know how to proceed towards a better living. But they are very jealous of their ruler's joyful time. It is the difference between their sad pli-

ght and the rulers' happy life that makes them restless and even troublesome if they are not attended to in time.

Let us therefore frankly face the problem. The Congress Government of India or their promised high power commission for regional states must take up its solution on a national, all India scale and not piecemeal. That would give rise to further movement of even dangerous proportions in parts of the country where either it is non-existent or feeble because either the people there are not fully conscious of their sad economic plight and political rights or they have relied on the Prime Minister's word. Let the Government take into account the geography, languages, culture, economy and administrative convenience of the entire country irrespective of any movement—weak, strong or neither—in the different regions. The Government have in their possession the data necessary for the purpose already collected for them through a century's or half-a-century's labours of their own agencies,

the Geological Survey, The Survey of India, the Linguistic Survey and the reports of the various departments.

It is a great task no doubt, and requires great minds and stout hearts for its fulfilment. The Prime Minister very often talks of doing 'big' things in big ways. He says he is determined to banish poverty from this land. How will he do so ? All alone ? No, he seeks the people's help. How can he get that help unless he takes them in a big way i. e. the country as a whole and sets them to work according to their genius and requirements ? If every one of us be tagged on to an unwilling partner, what will happen of the combination ? Trouble or storm according as the combine be small or big. The whole nation is divided today into groups of irreconcilable individuals, an extremely unnatural arrangement for the good of our state. This arrangement was clearly arrived at for keeping the people weak and helpless and subservient to the foreign ruler. Every moment, therefore, that it is tolerated is

an antisocial, antinational and unpatriotic act on the part of our rulers.

The new arrangement must be speedy and comprehensive. The Government must not set up regional states only where there is an irresistible demand for them and leave at rest the other areas, other peoples. The warning is necessary and is repeated because sometime ago the Andhras grew dangerous and received their state, but the other regions were ignored. These latter now took up the cudgel and are sure to get their due in the near future. But for the sake of our national well-being and peace in the land, don't put a premium on troublesomeness. That destroys your comforts, great lords, and spoils our chances for a better living.

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2

THE MAITHILI LANGUAGE

Along with Bengali, Assamee, Oriya, Magahi and Bhojpuri, Maithili has its origin in the north-eastern Apabhransa of the eighth century of Christian era. Since the Bauddha Siddhas of that time, poets and authors of Mithila have continuously expressed themselves in that language. The long continuity of literary composition in Maithili is unique in the whole history of vernacular literature of northern India. Jyotirisvara (1300 A. D.), Vidyapati (1450 A. D.), Lochana (1700 A. D.) and Chandra (1900 A.D.) are the landmarks in a long line of literary efforts of Mithila.

The geographical position of Mithila with the great Himalaya on the north, the Ganga on the south, the Kosi-Mahananda on the east and the Gandak in the west, protected her for long against the Mussalman invaders from the west.

While Magadha to the south of Ganga was the first in north eastern India to be conquered by Mussalmans, Mithila was the last kingdom to meet that fate.

The Mussalmans who established themselves as kings at Delhi adopted the language of the place for their intercourse with the people there. India they called Hind and her language Hindi. Delhi being their capital was the first place they knew intimately. They began knowing India, therefore, through Delhi. As Hind (India) was one country to them so her language also must be one (Hindi). They seem to have proceeded with the notion—one country one language. Unfortunately for us they had none of them a linguist among them. Alberuni who knew much about India had died about a century and a half before. And the new conquerors had neither time and energy nor inclination for a careful study of the languages of this land. From Delhi they took out its language to outlying areas they further

conquered.[1]

Mithila was brought under Delhi Sultanate in the middle of fifteenth century. Bengal was conquered earlier but the Mussalman general soon after became independent of Delhi. Since he had now not much to do with Delhi he did without its language and adopted the language of Bengal itself for the purpose of his administration. Bengali language and literature thus flourished under the patronage of the Mussalman rulers of Bengal. The vast tract of land from Delhi up to Mithila was under the direct rule of Delhi Sultans who were not prepared to learn more than one language of this country for communicating with their subjects. The latter had, therefore, to learn the rulers' language which they called Jamani (Yavani) after their speakers, the Mussalmans (Yavans). In Mithila even to-day many unlettered people refer to Hindi as Jamani. Later on Hindi, in

1 Sunitikumar Chattarji—The Origin and Development of the Bengali Language, Vol. I Pp. 11—12

these areas, was given other names when after the middle of the eighteenth century other people besides the Mussalman rulers were found speaking that language. After the disintegration of the Mogal empire of Delhi and establishment of English East India Company's rule in Eastern India, Hindu traders and bankers of Delhi, Mathura, Agra etc (Agrawals, Khatris and others) migrated to the eastern cities and towns where they were found speakigg the same language as the Mussalmans had been doing[2]. The name Jamani (of Yavana or Mussalman) was rendered inadequate. Finding it abounding in the frequent use of तुम, the people called it तुमताम. Women had their own name for it. It was 'काहैकोहै' meaning a language full of 'what's there,' 'who's there ?' While the Mussalmans of Delhi called all the regional languages prevalent from Delhi to Mithila Hindi, the people gave Hindi a name or names which probably its speakers

2 Ramchandra Sukla—Hindi Sahity ka Itihas, Banaras V. S. 2008, P 408

never knew. But the name Hindi for the different regional languages was adopted at places by ignorant people who did not know the indigenous name of their own language.

The European traders coming in contact with their Indian counterparts mostly Hindus also knew Hindi as the language of the Mussalmans and called it Moors or the Moorish Jargon. It was about the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth that John Gilchrist made systematic efforts to see that Hindi was accepted by the English as the language most widely spoken and understood in north India and therefore the most convenient for the purpose of their communication with the people. As principal of the Fort william College established in 1800 by Wellesley the governor-general of the East India Company's possessions in India, John Gilchrist collected together Hindu munshis from the Hindi speaking areas of upper India and started preparing texts in Hindi in Nagari character. The names Hindi,

Hindustani and Urdu were now given fixed connotations.

Hindi or Jamani was for all practical purposes the language of Mussalmans and was written in Persian character. No document in Hindi language or non-persian script belonging to the days of the Mussalman rule has been so far discovered in the Eastern provinces. Hindu Munshis of course used among themselves Nagari also known as Kaithi in the Western provinces. The only Nagari known to Mithila was Kaithi. Mithila has had her own script Mithilaksara which is similar to the Bengali script. All religious and similar writing was done in this script while the official Hindu munshis from the west used Nagari (kaithi).

It was in the nineteenth century that the Hindu speakers of Hindi in different cities and towns in north India began taking a conscious effort in learning and propagating Nagari in its standard form. The Muslim rule was gone. So the danger of the rulers' wrath due to any

Scanned by CamScanner

it Touritiana i. e. Tirhutia from Tirhut derived from Tirabhukti (in Sanskrit) another name of Mithila which is a Vedic word and signified originally the capital of king Mithi and only later on was applied to the territory originally known as Videha. Tirabhukti (the land of the river-banks) is a descriptive name given to this land in the age of the late classical Sanskrit.

The Bible was for the first time translated into the Bhagalpuri dialect of the Maithili language by Father Antonio at the end of the eighteenth century[1].

The table was however turned against the regional languages by the English rulers with the establishment of their College at Fort Willam in 1800. It was about that time that the East India Company as new rulers of the country in place of the Mussalmans took the cue from their predecessors and started a systematic effort to perpetuate the Hindi of Delhi as the one language of the whole of northern India. They tried

1. Ibid. Vol. V, pt. II. pp 18, 96

with great success even to broadbase it by patronising Devanagari the script of the western Hindus. The English, coming after the Mussalmans, were as much of foreigners as the latter had been. Both on their arrival here were unfamiliar with the people and their various languages. Both were naturally inclined to take the line of least resistance. The Mussalmans took it by adopting the language that they found nearest them—that of Delhi—and forcing it on their subjects even in the distant eastern towns and cities where it met the Europeans on their entry into eastern India through the bay of Bengal, and after some hesitatation was adopted as the most convenient language for their purpose.

The constant use of Hindi in the eastern cities through centuries had made it intelligible to many people. Its intelligibility in these areas led some Europeans to believe that the regional languages of these eastern provinces were dialects of Hindi.

William Carey of the Serampur mission in

1816, however, vigorously fought this erroneous idea about Maithili and other eastern languages being dialects of Hindi. Carey records that they 'have been recognised as distinct languages by the natives of India almost from time immemorial,'[1] 'To term them' he says further 'dialects of the Hindee is preposterous, when some of them in their terminations, approach nearer the Bengalee than the Hindee, while others approach more nearly to the Mahratta. The fact is, indeed, that the latest and most exact researches have shown that the Hindee has no country which can exclusively claim it as its own. Being the language of the Mussalman courts and camps, it is spoken in those cities and towns which have been formerly, or are now, the seat of Mussalman princes [2], and in general by those Mussalmans who attend on the persons of European gentlemen in almost every part of India. Hence, it is the language which most Europeans get an idea

1 Linguistic Survey of India vol I. pt. I p. 12

2 See also Sunitikumar Chattarji—ibid.

of before any other, and which indeed, in many instances, terminates their philological researches. These circumstances have led to the supposition, that it is the language of the greater part of Hindoostan; while the fact is, that it is not always understood by the common people at a distance of only twenty miles from the towns in which it is spoken. These speak their own vernacular language, in Bengal the Bengalee, and in other countries that which is appropriately the language of the country, which may account for a circumstance well known to those gentlemen who fill the judicial department, namely, that the publishing the Honourable Company's Regulations in Hindoostanee has often been objected to, on the ground that in that language they would be unintelligible to the bulk of the people in the various provinces of Hindoostan. Had this idea been followed up, it might have led to the knowledge of the fact, that each of these various provinces has a language of its own, most of them nearly alike

in the bulk of their words, but differing so widely in the grammatical terminations, as when spoken, to be scarcely intelligible to their next neighbours.'[1]

Carey in his statement quoted above is clear and emphatic. He admits that so far as a systematic study of languages was concerned 'India is to-day almost an unexplored country'[2]. So much so that living in Bengal, with all his 'latest and most exact research', he wrongly held that 'Hindee has no country which can exclusively claim it as its own'. And though the Linguistic Survey of India has discovered the homeland of Hindi in Delhi and its neighbourhood, there are people who still claim it as the language of the whole of north India from Delhi to Mithila and from the Himalaya to the Vindhya[3].

1 Linguistic Survey of India vol I. pt. I p. 12

2 Ibid. p. 11

3 Mahavira Prasad Dvivedi---Sahityalap. Patna. p. 8 Dhirendra Verma—Hindi bhasa ka itihas, Allahabad 1949 (linguistic map of India)

The western movement for imposing Hindi and Nagari on Mithila and other eastern provinces was no unmixed evil. The movement for a time had total success and had achieved complete banishment of Maithili language and script from the schools and colleges of Mithila when in the beginning of this century the activities of the Kasi Nagari Pracharini Sabha and Hindi Sahitya Sammelan roused some people here to a consciousness of the hideous designs of the people from the west on their language, literature, script and culture. They started their literary organization the Maithili Sahitya Parisad and organised themselves against the vicious attempt to establish Hindi and Nagari in place of Maithili in Mithila.

The fight for the preservation of Maithili language and script has had only partial success so far. The first to recognise Maithili as an important modern Indian language along with Bengali etc. was the late Sir Asutosh Mukherji, Judge of Calcutta High Court and the great

Vice-chancellor of the University of Calcutta. In 1919 he made provision for the teaching of Maithili at all stages in the curriculum of his university. After fourteen years of struggle, it was again another great man and educationist of our land, the late Pandit Madan Mohan Malviya who introduced Maithili into the curriculum of the Banaras Hindu University in 1933.

Sir Asutosh Mukherji at Culcutta and Pandit Madan Mohan Malviya at Banaras, with their recognition of Maithili, made the position of the Government of Bihar at Patna against Maithili extremely untenable. After years of hesitation the Government and the University at Patna which have so far ruled Mithila conceded a restricted admission of Maithili into the curriculum in 1939.

Fifteen years after that decision, the position of Maithili in Mithila under the rule of the Government at Patna in Magadha is still far lower than that of any other regional language in its own homeland e.g. Bengali in Bengal,

Assamese in Assam, Oriya in Orissa etc. The two universities at Patna have accepted it as one of the optional subjects. The primary and middle schools in Mithila under the management of local bodies may, if the boards so desire, introduce Maithili as the medium of instruction. But the attitude of the ministers at Patna has been so much against Maithili that no chairman or vice-chairman or members of any local board, district board or municipality could venture to put Maithili in its place without jeopardising his career in politics. The chairman of Darbhanga Sadar Local Board sometime ago asked his primary and middle schools to teach Maithili and it is said he is in difficulty with his party bosses on that account.

The Congress at Patna in the Government as well as in the two universities have, howsoever unwillingly and hesitatingly, accepted Maithili as the regional language of Mithila. They only try to see that this acceptance of theirs means, in practice, no facility to the speakers

of this language for developing their education. The Congress at Delhi were expected to be better. But they failed even to include Maithili as one of the languages enumerated in the eighth schedule of the Constitution. What was the criterion for the inclusion of a language in that list ? Was it the number of speakers ? Maithili is spoken by twenty million people in Mithila—a larger number than that of Assamese (19,99,000) Oriya (1,11,94,000), Kashmiri (39,45,000), Kannada (1,12,06,000) or Malayalam (91,37,000), all included in the schedule. Was it the extent of the area over which a language is spoken ? The territory of Mithila over which Maithili is spoken is about 25,000 square miles, larger than several states of India. The exclusion of Maithili from that list, therefore, must be due either to the ignorance of the well-meaning or to the jealousy of certain sectarians in the Constituent Assembly. It would be idle to say that no body put forward any demand for its inclusion. Well, that is inviting agitation. No truly democratic

government waits for a demand from the mass of the people for particular measures of welfare to reach it before it acts. The people are mostly ignorant. They only know they are miserable. They seldom understand the causes of their misery. It is beyond their mental power to think of or grasp its solution. Their representatives are generally members of the ruling party. They don't venture to go against the wishes of their party bosses who hail from another area.

A government to-day in a democratic country is also a political party. And therefore it is the leader as well as the ruler of the people. It must not merely do their bidding. It must also lead them in the right way of living. In this respect the Congress has behaved no better than its predecessor, the British. Instead of acting for the good of the people, it keeps on looking for an excuse to avoid exerting.

The exclusion of Maithili and some other languages from the schedule has been the cause of a lot of apprehnsion anong people in Mithila

and elsewhere about the terms of reference of the High Power Commission on regional states. If the Commission were asked to suggest formation of states only on the basis of languages enumerated in that schedule, the country would be left with the prospect of a dangerous situation in the future. The prime minister's statement on 'the perfect freedom' of the Commission in dealing with the subject has, therefore, come as a relief to the sponsors of regional states.

3

MITHILA IN NEW INDIA

With its area about 25,000 sq. miles and population about 20,000,000 Mithila is situated between latitudes 25·3°N and 27·5N and longitudes 83·8°E. and 88·7E. From Himalaya in the north to the Ganga in the south it is about 100 miles wide and fromt he Gandak in the west to the Mahananda in the east it is about 250 miles long. Except the lower ranges of the Himalaya in the north, now under Nepal, the whole area in India is a flat alluvial plain sloping from the north to the south andt hen to the south-east. The kosi, the Triyuga, the Kamala, the Vagmati, the Lakhandei, the Burhi Gandak and the Gandak are the main rivers. The Kosi and the Kamala are notorious for their devastating floods.

The area and population of Mithila district wise are :

District		area (in sq. miles)	population
Champaran (under Bihar)		3,531	25,15,343
Muzaffarpur	"	3,036	35,20,739
Darbhanga	"	3,348	37,69,534
Saharsa	"	2,110	13,08,198
North Munger	"	1,963	14,25,178
Purnea	"	4,926	25,25,231
Morang (under Nepal)		975	7,57,398
Saptari	"	802	7,69,597
Mahotari	"	770	7,29,399
Saralahi	"	872	6,39,192
Rautahat	"	595	3,20,000
Bara	"	464	2,10,000
Parasa	"	375	1,70,000
		23,767	1,86,61,812

The table above shows about 5,000 sq. miles of Mithila's territory and about 35,00,000 people as under Nepal.

The present boundary-line between the kingdom of Nepal in the north and Mithila, Bhojpur and Awadha in the south was fixed between the Gorakha ruler of Nepal and the East India Company in 1816 in the treaty made at Sugauli in Champaran after two years (1814—16) of warfare between the Gorakhas and the Company. This boundary-line decided on by two invading armies had, therefore, nothing to do with the wishes or welfare or rights of the people living on either side and is extremely unnatural and harmful for them.

In area Mithila (25,000 sq.miles) is larger than fifteen out of the present states of India taken singly—Bilaspur (453 sq.m.), Delhi (578 sq.m.), Coorg (1,586 sq.m.), Ajmere (2,417 sq.m.), Sikkam (2,744 sq.m.), Andaman-Nicobar (3,215 sq.m.), Tripura (4,032 sq.m.), Bhupal (6,878 sq. m.), Manipur (8,628 sq.m.), Travancore-Cochin (9,144 sq.m.), Pepsu (10,078 sq.m.), Himachalapradesa (10,451 sq.m.), Cutch (16,724 sq.m.), Saurastra (21,451 sq.m.) and Vin-

dhyapradesa (23,603 sq.m.), Mysore (29,489 sq.m.) and West Bengal (30,775 sq.m.) are not far longer than Mithila. Eight states out of the forty-eight of the United States of America—New Harmpshire (9,024 sq.m.), Vermont (9,278 sq.m.), Massachusetts (7,907 sq.m.), Rhode Island (1,058 sq.m.), Connecticut (4,899 sq.m.) New Jersey (7,522 sq.m.), Delaware (1,978 sq. m.) and Maryland (1,887 sq.m.)—and three republics out of the sixteen of the U. S. S. R.—Armenia (11,640 sq.m.), Maldavia (13,200 sq.m.) and Estonia (17,610 sq.m.)—as well as twelve sovereign states—Albania (10,600 sq. m.), Belgium (11,775 sq. m.), Bhutan (18,000 sq.m.), Costarica (23,000 sq.m.), Denmark (16,500 sq. m.), Dominican Republic (19,000 sq.m.), Haiti (10,000 sq,m.), Israel (5,000 sq.m.), Lebanon (4,000 sq.m.), Luxemburg (1,000 sq.m.), New Hebrides (5,700 sq.m.) and Switzerland (16,000 sq.m.)—are each smaller than Mithila.

In population Mithila (2,00,00,000) is larger than each of the twenty-three of the present

states of India—Andaman-Nicobar (30,971), Bilaspur (1,26,099), Sikkam (1,37,725), Coorg (2,29,405), Cutch (5,67,606), Manipur (5,77,635), Tripura (6,39,372), Ajmere (6,93,372), Bhupal (8,36,474), Himachalapradesa (9,83,367), Delhi (17,44,072), Pepsu (34,94,685), Vindhyapradesa (35,74,690), Saurastra (41,37,359), Jammu-Kashmir (44,10,000), Madhyabharat (79,54,154), Assam (90,43,707), Mysore (90,74,972), Travancore-Cochin (92,80,425), East Panjab (1,26,41,205), Orissa (1,46,45,946), Rajasthan (1,52,90,797) and Hyderabad (1,86,55,108)—, the largest of the forty-eight states of the U. S. A., New York (1,38,79,142), than each of the fourteen out of the sixteen republics of the U. S. S. R., Kenya (40,47,000), Uganda (39,31,000), Tanganyika (55,45,000), Janjibar (2,50,000), Cyprus (4,40,000), Greenland (16,400), Honduras (11,00,000), Liberia (15,00,000), Malay (48,70,000), Monaco (19,000), Morocco (94,53,000), Newfoundland (3,25,000), New Guinea (10,00,000), New Hebrides (45,000),

Tunisia (26,08,000), than each of the fifty-seven of the sovereign states–Nepal (55,00,000), Bhutan (3,00,000), Burma (1,70,00,000), Ceylon (66,59,000), Australia (75,80,000), Newzealand (17,00,000), Borneo (30,50,000), South Africa (1,12,59,000), Madagascar (40,00,000), Egypt (1,70,00,000), Abyssinia (1,20,00,000), Syria (30,00,000), Turkey (1,63,00,000), Arabia (70,00,000), Saudi Arabia (52,50,000), Yemen (35,00,000), Jordan (4,00,000), Lebanon (10,00,000), Israel (8,42,000), Iran (90,00,000), Iraq (46,11,000), Afghanistan (80,00,000), Albania (10,00,000), Greece (77,00,000,) Rumania (1,64,09,000), Bulgaria (65,00,000), Hungary (90,00,000), Yugoslavia (1,57,52,000), Czechoslovakia (1,24,00,000), Austria (70,00,000), Luxemburg (3,00,000), Belgium (85,11,000), Denmark (40,12,000), Netherlands (95,00,000), Norway (31,23,000), Sweden (68,42,000), Finland (39,00,000), Switzerland (42,66,000) Portugal (80,00,000), Ireland (29,50,000), Iceland (1,27,000), Chile (53,00,000), Peru (63,00,000),

Guatemala (33,00,000), Paraguay, (11,00,000) Uruguay (22,50,000), Equador (32,41,000), Venezuela (42 89,000), Nicaragua (10,00,000), Costa Rica (7,00,000), Bolivia (37,23,000), Panama (6,50,000), Cuba (48,00,000), Haiti (33,00,000), Dominican Republic (20,00,000), Columbia (90,00,000) and Canada (1,28,83,000).

Even with its low per capita income—Rs 141 as against Rs 264 for India as a whole calculated on the Indian average minus the per head loss in Mithila due to floods etc.—and huge deficit of food stuffs, it pays about 14 crores of rupees every year to the treasury of Bihar Government at Patna and receives back in goods and services about 9 crores; 5 crores less than it gives!

Mithila's river-valley projects including measures for flood-control, irrigation, hydro-electricity, water-transport etc. would, if taken up and completed, turn it into one of the richest areas in the world. Even without these developments, it can well go on as an autonomous state with its present income which is larger than that of

Assam (9 crores), Orissa (10 crores); Madhya-bharat (11 crores), Mysore (13 crores), Travan-core-cochin (14 crores), Saurastra (8 crores), Pepsu (5 crores), Kashmir (4 crores), Bhopal (1 crore), Himachalapradesa (55 lakhs), Coorg (45 lakhs) and Ajmer (43 lakhs). Figures for Vindhyapradesa, Delhi, Cuch, Bilaspur, Koch-bihar, Manipur, Tripura and Andaman are not available; but they are expected to be far below that of Mithila. There is therefore no sense in saying that Mithila as a separate state would not be economically viable.

The Prime Minister has done well to emphasise in Parliament and outside that the high power commission for re-organization of states will present a scheme for the whole of India. Piecemeal treatment of the problem has already done a lot of harm to our people. Our progress in social welfare work has been hampered a great deal by our preoccupation with the struggle for a scientific division of administrative units without which no administration can attain efficiency.

the establishment of the state of Rajasthan however that aggressive desire of the Hindi-warriors towards the west has been stilled. Marathi, Gujarati, Rajasthani, Punjabi and Kashmiri are the five languages that should form the basis for regional states there. The Kash-miries have aleady their state functioning. Raja-sthan also is going on well. The trouble-spots are continuing—even increasing their intensity– in Maharastra, Gujarat and Punjab. The Maha-rastris are a brave and politically very conscious people. They are out to see their people pros-per under a unified administration of a Maha-rastra state. The Gujaratis are less vigorous in their struggle for a state of Gujrat than the Maharastris but the desire for it is universal there now. The Punjabis are divided on the issue of a Punjabi speaking state on grounds of the two religions of Hinduism and Sikhism. The Government of India will do well not to take advantage of that quarrel in delaying the for-mation of the state of Punjab comprising rou-

There is not much ground for quarrel in the south with regard to the number of languages and the regions where they are spoken. Tamil, Telugu, Kannada and Malayalam are the four main Dravidian languages accepted on all hands for a basis for the reorganization of states there. On that basis, the states in the south will be Tamilnad (with its language Tamil), Andhra (with Telugu), Karnatak (with Kannada) and Kerala (with Malayalam) instead of to-day's Madras (with its Tamil), Travancore-Cochin (with its Malayalam), Mysore (with its Tamil, Kannada and Malayalam), Andhra (with its Telugu) and Hyderabad (with its kannada, Telugu and Marathi]. We shall have thus in the Dravidian speaking areas four states on the new pattern in place of to-day's fine mixed heterogenous unwieldy states.

In the west also the controversy about the number of major languages is almost at its end. There were people up till recently who claimed Rajasthani as a dialect of Hindi. With

ghly the present states of East Punjab, Pepsu and Himachalapradesa.

In the east with the establishment of the states of Assam, Bengal and Orissa, the problem of regional states is solved except for disputes regarding certain areas between Bengal and Jharakhanda and those between Jharakhanda and Orissa.

North India which has so far been taken as the most peaceful area so far as the issue of regional states is concerned threatens to be most troublesome in the near future if the men in power at Patna, Lucknow and Delhi don't visualise it and forestall it by vigorously applying the results of scientific explorations in the languages of area carried on for about half a century by the Linguistic Survey of India as well as numerous individual scholars beginning from the late eighteenth century to our own times.

The danger which Hindustani [Hindi-Urdu] has presented to the regional languages from the Punjab and Rajasthan in the west to Mithila

and Jharakhanda in the east and from Himalaya in the north to Vindhya in the south, an area of about 400,000 sq. miles, is now begining to recoil on itself.

Hindi, spoken barely by 60 lakhs of people in Delhi and the districts around, spread throughout the towns and administrative centres of this vast area along with the dominion of the Mussalman conqueror at Delhi. Those who know its history regard it as the fruit of the Muslim invasion and conquest of Aryavarta in the same way as English was later the fruit of the British domination in India. The history of its imperial origin and growth is best illustrated in the protracted battle between Hindi and Urdu and their scripts Nagari and Persian-Arabic which was brought to a close only with the partition of India into India and Pakistan and acceptance of Hindi as the official language of India and Urdu as that of Pakistan. Hindi as the official language of the federal Government has been always unpopular in the south and in

the east. In the so-called Hindi-speaking north, speakers of the regional languages have realised the evil of Hindi's aggression on their mother-tongues, how the suppression of their languages have retarded the growth of education among their people. Their demand for recognition of their languages is meeting a stiff resistance from the Hindi-wallas who have now in certain quarters started talking of a Hindustani nation with its Hindustani language (Hindi–Urdu) spread from Ambala in the west to Purnea in the east. Nothing could be more presumptuous. People in Mithila and elsewhere in the neighbourhood naturally regard such evidences of aggressive tendencies with annoyance. The result is that many who were once supporters of Hindi as a federal language have now started talking of Sanskrit in its place. Hindi wanted much more than was destined as its lot. It is therefore now losing what it was once willingly given.

Let us now stop all quarrel about definitions of a dialect and a language. It is recog-

nised on all hands that in setting up new scientific units of administration, language cannot be the sole criterion. Geographical unity is far more important than language. It is the geography of a land that ultimately decides its language, racial and cultural peculiarity as well as its economy. Even if we assumed that Hindi is the language of the whole area between Mithila and Jharakhanda in the east and Rajasthan and Punjab in the west, between the Himalaya in the north and the Vindhya in the south, and that Maithili, Magahi, Bhojpuri, Awadhi, Bagheli, Chhattisgarhi, Bundeli, Vrajbhasa, Rajasthani and Punjabi were all dialects of Hindi, could we form a single state of this vast area of 400,000 sq. miles (1200 miles long and 300 miles wide) and population of about 15 crores ? The ambitious Hindi-empire-builders would probably try it ! Only there wouldn't be people charitable enough to let them experiment it. If you then go to cut up this huge area into geographical units they will automatically

coincide with linguistic zones whether you recognised them as such or not. The two great mountain ranges of the Himalaya and the Vindhya lying east-west and the great rivers Yamuna, Ganga, Sarayu, Gandaka, Sona and Kosi running in different directions have conspired to build up our geographical and linguistic zones as they are. It should be a great credit to us if we could establish control over these hard and soft agents of Nature and have our landscape as we liked it; but before we could do so, let us be wise enough to realise our limitations and plan our territorial division according to the natural arrangement. Let us be brave in our efforts and modest in our undertakings.

The states in north India on the new basis would be Mithila (with its language Maithili), Magadha (with Magahi), Jharakhanda (with Jharkhandi in its Santali, Mundari, Ho and other forms), Bhojpur (with Bhojpuri), Awadha (with Awadhi), Baghelkhanda (with Bagheli), Chhattisgarh (with chhattisgarhi), Bundelkhanda

(with Bundeli), Vrajabhumi (with Vrajabhasa) and Delhi (with Hindi).

It is wrong to suppose that there would be fragmantation of the country divided according to geography and languages. If Bihar of to-day would be cut up into three, Mithila, Magadha and Jharakhanda, the three states of East Punjab, Pepsu and Himachalapradesa would merge into one ; Hyderabad would be cut up into three, Marathwada, Telangana and Karnataka each joining its contiguous linguistic Zone, the present state as such disappearing thus ; Uttarapradesa, Delhi, Madhyabharat, Madhyapradesa and Vindhyapradesa would together be formed into Bhojpur, Awadh, Vrajabhumi, Delhi, Bundelkhanda, Baghelkhanda and Chhattisgarh.

The new India will have thus twenty-two following states in place of to-day's twenty-nine:

	States	language	proposd Head-quaters
1	Mithila	Maithili	Muzaffarpur
2	Magadha	Magahi	Patna

3	Jharakhanda	Jharkhandi	Ranchi
4	Bhojpur	Bhojpuri	Banares
5	Awadha	Awadhi	Lucknow
6	Baghelkhanda	Bagheli	Rewa
7	Chhattisgarh	Chhattisgarhi	Raipur
8	Bundelkhanda	Bundeli	Jhansi
9	Vrajabhumi	Brajabhasha	Agra
10	Delhi	Hindi	Delhi
11	Kashmir	Kashmiri	Srinagar
12	Punjab	Punjabi	Chandigarh
13	Rajasthan	Rajasthani	Jaypur
14	Gujarat	Gujarati	Ahmedabad
15	Maharastra	Marathi	Bombay
16	Assam	Assamese	Gauhati
17	Bengal	Bengali	Calcutta
18	Orissa	Oriya	Bhubneshwar
19	Andhra	Telugu	Hyderabad
20	Tamilnad	Tamil	Madras
21	Keral	Malayalam	Trivandrum
22	Karnataka	Kannada	Bangalore

That provides you with a workable scheme of states reorganised on the new principle. You

might modify it here and there to make it even more scientific and convenient. But for heaven's sake, please don't dismiss it with a light heart, for it has not been conceived with a light heart. I have given now many years to a study of this problem. All available data on the subject have been consulted and given earnest consideration. Even so there may be scope for improvement in the scheme. The problem is great and requires great minds to solve it. We have a five-year plan under execution. The whole thing leads one to the conclusion that we have not learnt from modern Russia and China. Before they started on their national plans, annual, four-year, or five-year ones, they had the country divided into natural zones. That was the first great reason of their rapid success in national development measures. We, on the other hand, accepted the old arrangement effected under feudal and imperial rivalries and agreements and tried to put socialism into it. That was, to say the least, putting the cart before the

horse. No plan of social welfare can be worked except by an efficient administration which be impossible to attain unless we have first planned our administrative areas on a natural and scientific basis. We have already suffered much on account of our haphazard ventures into welfare measures. No country has talked of national planning so much and so long as India has done, and most unfortunately for us, no country has had such unplanned living as ours. We have suffered not so much for lack of planning as for bad planning. And a bad planning is certainly worse than no plan. The Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru is at best a visionary. If instead of talking science, he made his outlook a bit scientific, we should have by now achieved in social progress at least as much since 1945 as new China has done since 1949. While Jawaharlal in India talked science, Mao in China used it for the good of his people. That shows the difference between the science as a fetish which it has been to many

including Nehru in the present day world and science as an istrument for working to the country's good as it has been to Mao-tse-tung of China and Lenin and Stalin of Russia. It is not yet too late for us to adopt science in the true scientific spirit—not as a new superstition—and work out our happiness as a brave and wise people.

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